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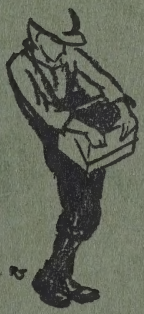
SCHOOL *or* WORK *in* INDIANA?

By CHARLES E. GIBBONS
Assisted by HARVEY N. TUTTLE



NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
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New York, N. Y.
1927

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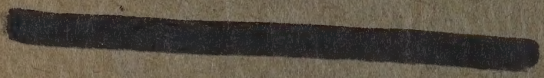

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By CHARLES E. GIBBONS
DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATION

Assisted by
HARVEY N. TUTTLE

FORT WAYNE AND ALLEN COUNTY, IND.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
1927

National Child Labor Committee

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FOREWORD

This is an age of demonstrations. Thousands, even millions of dollars derived from foundations and otherwise have been expended, and expended wisely, in the last few years to show what can be done for the improvement of community life. The Mansfield Health Demonstration is only one of many.

As Mr. Gibbons' report clearly shows, Indiana without the intention of carrying on any sort of special demonstration, but with the sole idea of doing what should be done for the improvement as well as the preservation of social life, has in a very quiet way proved that the children of its different communities can be kept in school until they reach the age of 16 unless they complete the 8th grade sooner. She has not permitted any fanciful excuses to be offered for non-school attendance and her teachers and attendance officers have carried out this policy with firmness and with understanding.

Indiana is a goodly state but there are others just as good. What she is doing in the matter of keeping all her children in school can be done by New Jersey, Virginia or any other state whenever it becomes so minded. If any state or community really makes up its mind to have an educated citizenship its children will be kept in school.

OCT 10 1930

The good school attendance record for children under 16 in Indiana is attributed by Mr. Gibbons in part, and he intimates largely, to the fact that the school on the one hand and the community on the other accept the education of all the children as a vital part of the routine of the social life. All the children go to school in Indiana because the habit of going to school has been grounded deep as one of the established customs of the community. The school charges itself with responsibility for every child who reaches the age of 7 years as a part of its stock-in-trade and thereafter holds itself accountable for those children until they are 16 years of age.

There is abroad in the land a belief that children who appear to be of low or slow mentality should be allowed to drop out of school at the age of 14 for work. It is a heathenish doctrine.

Common decency would seem to dictate that the weak should not be discriminated against because of their weakness. Indiana is handling this problem in a sane and just way.

It is to be regretted that the child labor law of Indiana lags somewhat behind the compulsory school attendance law in enforcement. No one admits this more readily than the Director of the Department charged with the enforcement of the child labor law and this within itself is a guarantee of steady improvement. We confidently expect Indiana to show the country what can be done in the matter of regulating the employment of children as she has shown how completely a good compulsory school attendance law can be enforced.

WILEY H. SWIFT.

December 15, 1927

SCHOOL *or* WORK *in* INDIANA?

INTRODUCTION

In 1921, the legislature of Indiana passed a compulsory school attendance law, and a child labor law. The two are written together in one chapter, the first seventeen sections dealing with compulsory school attendance, and the last eleven with child labor.

There are three outstanding characteristics of this legislation:

First, the standards are comparatively high. In not every respect are all the provisions of this law the highest to be found in the country, but in no respect are any provisions below what the National Child Labor Committee considers to be minimum standards, with the possible exception of the employment of children in dangerous occupations.

Second, the two laws dove-tail together, leaving no loop-holes whatever whereby children under 16 years of age may escape. Children must be either in school or at work unless excused under carefully provided safeguards.

Third, each law has centralized state administrative control. The compulsory school attendance law is under the supervision of the State Board of Attendance, and the child labor law under the Industrial Board.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this report is to measure within certain definite limitations the efficiency of these two laws.

First: How nearly does the compulsory school attendance law actually account for *all* children? The inquiry was confined to ascertaining whether children between the ages of 14 and 18 years had entered school for the year 1926–27, and whether they were still attending. It should be noted that attendance information was not secured for children under 14 years of age, nor was any attempt made to learn how much time had been missed from school. The facts gathered for this report merely show whether children between 14 and 18 years of age were school attendants or not.

Second: How nearly does the child labor law meet the needs for which it was designed? This involved consideration of the number of children working, the kinds of work, the hours, the time of day or night, whether the children had permits, and so on. This information was secured for children who were out of school full time for work, and also for school children who were working before or after school, or on non-school days. For the full-time working children, the inquiry was confined to those between the ages of 14 and 18, while for the part-time working children, consideration was given to all children under 18 years of age who were employed.

Method Used in Making Study

The plan for checking the efficiency of the two laws was simple. In each case the school census was used as the basis for the work. The names of all children appearing on the school census who on the initial date of visit to the town or city were 14 but not yet 18 years of age, were checked against the enrollments of both public and private schools. Those in school were checked off. For those children out of school, a visit was made to the home and a schedule of information concerning the work (or idleness) of the child was filled out.

Information concerning children working part-time was secured by visiting each schoolroom, and interviewing all children doing any kind of work outside of school hours for which they received pay.

For the part of the field work conducted in March and April, the census of 1926 was used. This was corrected to the date of visit to the town, by adding to it the number of children that had moved in since the taking of the census, and subtracting from it the number of those who had moved away. During May, the 1927 census figures were used.

Places Studied

The field work was conducted by two agents of the National Child Labor Committee, and a full and complete check-up was made in each of the following places: Connersville, Crawfordsville, Brazil, Washington, Tell City, Cannelton, Goshen, Peru, and Marion.

Cannelton was the smallest town, with a population of about 2000, and Marion the largest city, with a population of over 26,000. Tell City had about 4000, and the remaining places ranged from 9000 to 12,000 inhabitants. The total population for all of the places was nearly 100,000, according to the United States Census of 1920.

None of the larger cities of the state were included because the amount of work involved to make the check, was more than the limits of time or money would permit. It should be kept in mind that any deductions or conclusions drawn from the facts herein presented are necessarily limited to the extent that these nine places are typical of the state as a whole. The places studied were selected because it was believed that taken together they would present a representative picture of the state.

LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

Before presenting the findings of the study, it will be well to set out briefly the main provisions of the two laws under consideration.

Compulsory School Attendance Law

I. Parents and guardians are required to send children between 7 and 16 years of age either to the public school for the full term, or to some other school for a like period of time, unless:

1. A child has been excused or excluded by the superintendent with the certified approval of a physician because of mental or physical unfitness,
2. Is deaf or blind, in which case the child must be sent to the proper state institution up to the age of 18 unless sooner discharged,
3. Is 14 years of age, has completed the 8th grade of the public school course or its equivalent, and has an employment certificate. If a child leaves his job, he must return to school within five days after the termination of the work.

II. Every county, and every city having a school enumeration of 2000 or more children, must have an attendance officer. In cities an additional attendance officer is required for each 10,000 additional children of school age.

III. An attendance officer must have completed the elementary public school course, and meet other qualifications fixed by the State Board of Attendance. He works under the immediate supervision of the Superintendent of Schools in addition to performing whatever duties may be required by the State Board of Attendance.

IV. The State Board of Attendance, consisting of the members of the State Board of Education and an executive, has general supervisory powers over the operation of the law, and in the final analysis is responsible for the success or failure of it.

Child Labor Law

I. The employment of children is entirely forbidden under certain conditions as follows:

1. Any child under 14 years at any gainful occupation other than farm labor or domestic service.
2. Any boy between 14 and 16 years, and any girl between 14 and 18 years, at any gainful occupation other than farm labor or domestic service for more than 8 hours a day, 48 hours or 6 days a week, or before 6 A.M. or after 7 P.M.
3. Any child under 16 years of age in an enumerated list of occupations, or "in any other occupation dangerous to the life or limb or injurious to the health or morals of such minor."
4. Any child under 18 years of age in an enumerated list of occupations, or "in any other occupation dangerous to the life or limb or injurious to the health or morals of such minor."
5. Any boy under 18 years of age in the distribution of merchandise or messages after 10 P.M. or before 6 A.M.
6. Any girl under 18 years of age when the employment compels her to remain standing constantly.
7. Any person under 21 years of age in any public pool or billiard room.

II. The law further regulates the employment of children by providing:

1. That no child between the ages of 14 and 18 may be employed unless the employer secures an employment certificate (except that certificates are not required for children 14 and over for farm labor and domestic service during the hours when the school is not in session).

   The employment certificate is issued to children whose employment is necessary and not prohibited by law, by the superintendent of schools, or some one designated by him in writing and approved by the state attendance officer, after the following legal documents have been received.

   A. *Proof of age:* (a) birth certificate, (b) baptismal certificate, (c) bona fide record of the child's birth as shown in the family Bible, (d) a sworn statement by a public health physician, or a public school physician, or the superintendent of schools, stating his opinion as to the age of the child. Proof of age is to be established in the order named, *i.e.*, no subsequent proof shall be accepted until it is shown that the preceding proof can not be obtained.

B. *Proof of physical fitness.* This is to be signed by the school or public health officer.

C. *Proof of schooling.* The completion of the eighth grade or its equivalent is required. This record is to be furnished by the superintendent, principal, or teacher of the last school attended. The educational requirement is waived for vacation and non-school-hour work.

D. *Proof of prospective employment.* The employer must furnish a written signed statement, setting out the nature of the work at which the child is to be employed.

2. That upon the termination of a child's employment the employer must notify the issuing officer. A form is attached to the certificate for this purpose.

3. That the law shall be administered by the State Industrial Board. Its immediate supervision is under the Department of Women and Children which has a chief and two assistants.

III. For the administration of the Act, the State Board of Attendance and the Industrial Board have adopted three forms of certificates.

1. *Form G. Employment Certificate.* This is issued for the employment of children 14 to 16 years of age, after proof of age, proof of schooling, proof of physical fitness, and proof of prospective employment, as required by law, have been received by the issuing officer. The certificate is made in duplicate, one copy being mailed to the employer, and the other to the Industrial Board. To the copy mailed to the employer is attached a termination notice which is to be returned to the issuing officer when the child leaves the employment, and which is to be forwarded to the Industrial Board by the issuing officer.

2. *Form H. Vacation and Holiday Employment Certificate.* This certificate is issued for the employment of children 14 to 16 years of age, outside of school hours, upon proof of age only. Proofs of physical fitness and of prospective employment appear to be waived, along with the educational requirement. This certificate is issued in duplicate, one copy belonging to the child, the other being mailed to the Industrial Board. Upon the termination of employment, the certificate is returned to the child, and it may be used for work with other employers without re-issuance.

3. *Form I. Minor's Certificate of Age.* This is issued upon proof of age to minors 16 to 18 years of age, and upon request of employers, up to 21 years of age. Proofs of schooling, physical fitness, and prospective employment are all waived.

This certificate is issued in duplicate, one copy belonging to the child, the other being mailed to the Industrial Board. Upon the termination of employment, the certificate is returned to the child, and may be used for work with other employers without re-issuance.

The gist of the child labor law in Indiana seems to be that, during the hours when the public school is not in session, no child between 14 and 18 years can be legally employed unless the employer has an employment certificate as a license for that employment, except that certificates are not required for children 14 years of age or over to work at farm labor or domestic service. No provision is made for certificating children under 14 years of age to work at farm labor or domestic service, but under the compulsory school attendance law they may not be withdrawn from school to work.

Strictly speaking the forms adopted by the State Board of Attendance and the Industrial Board for the enforcement of the law provide for but one employment certificate, namely, Form G. The other two are merely proofs of age.

The text of the law, however, seems to indicate that it was the intention of the legislature that no certificate for the employment of any child 14 to 18 years of age should be issued until after each of the four formal documents heretofore described had been secured by the issuing officer, except that he is authorized to waive the educational requirement (and none other) in granting a certificate for employment when the public schools are not in session.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The School Census

The starting point for the effective enforcement of both the compulsory school attendance and child labor laws, is a complete and accurate school census. This record should furnish the necessary information about every child in any given community. In April of each year the school authorities in Indiana are required to record the names, ages, birthdates, etc., of all children between the ages of six and twenty-one.

In making this record the enumerators are carefully supervised, and their work checked by the superintendent of schools, attendance officer, or other person especially qualified to handle such work. In each of the towns the census showed evidence of careful, accurate work. In remarkably few instances were errors found in

any of the information recorded, and there was no evidence that any appreciable number of children had been missed.

The census is looked upon by the superintendents of schools and the attendance officers as a highly valuable record. To them its value is two-fold: first, certain state funds are distributed on the basis of the number of names that the list contains; and second, it serves as the starting point of responsibility for *all* children in the community. In the early fall the enrollment is carefully checked against it to see that all children are accounted for, and throughout the year constant reference is being made to it.

Children in School

The census lists in the nine towns and cities studied showed 6019 children between the ages of 14 and 17, inclusive. Of these, 4984, or 82.8 per cent, were shown by the record to be in attendance at school. Of the 14 and 15 year old children (those of the study amenable to the compulsory school attendance law) nearly 97 per cent were so recorded; while of the 16 and 17 year old children (those to whom the compulsory school attendance law does not apply) two-thirds were shown to be in school.

For the 14 and 15 year old children there was no marked variation in the percentages that were in school in the different places. Brazil was lowest with 94.7 per cent, and Washington the highest with 98.1 per cent. However, there was a much wider variation in the percentages of 16 and 17 year old children in school. Cannelton had only 36.4 per cent and Tell City 44.6 per cent of the children in this age group in school. In Brazil and Marion the percentages were also below the average for all places (66.6), while in Washington, Goshen, Peru, Connersville, and Crawfordsville, the percentages were above the average for all.

Children Not in School

Of the 98 children 14 and 15 years of age who were not in school, 31 were working and 12 were idle. This accounts for a little over 43 per cent of the non-school attendants in the 14 and 15 year age group. Of the 55 remaining non-school attendants in this age group, 33 were out of school because of mental and physical ill health, and two because of alleged delinquency. Ten were in correctional institutions, six had married and four could not be located.

Of the 937 children 16 and 17 years old not in school, 605 (64.7 per cent) were working and 157 (16.8 per cent) were idle. Forty-six were out of school because of mental or physical disorder, and five

because of alleged delinquency. Twelve were in correctional institutions, sixty-four had married, five were in the army or navy, and forty-one could not be located.

These facts make it clear that the compulsory school attendance law is being well enforced. The operation of the law is necessarily concerned with a large number of children, yet only a very small percentage of those 14 and 15 years old were not in school. Children are not failing to start in school or dropping out permanently for trivial reasons. Nearly half of the few non-attendants in this age group were out for good and sufficient reasons. As a factor in keeping 14 and 15 year old children out of school, child labor is almost negligible for as we have shown, less than one per cent were out of school for work. This, of course, does not minimize the importance of substituting work for school for these particular children, but the point is that no large number of children is involved.

The situation with respect to the 16 and 17 year old children is also good. Except in Cannelton and Tell City where there is a rather pronounced feeling that children should quit school at 16, the number of children in this age group in school varied from better than three out of five to almost three out of four. Of the non-school attendants in this age group, slightly more than three-fifths were working. About one-sixth were idle; many of these had been working but for one reason or another had quit or lost their jobs. Nearly one-fifth of the 16 and 17 year old non-school attendants were not in school for reasons generally accepted as valid either in law or fact.

There are a number of reasons for this splendid showing. First, as has been previously pointed out, the law is a good one. It is a reasonable, well-drawn and thoroughly workable piece of legislation.

Second, there is a keen desire on the part of those charged with the responsibility of enforcing the law to see that the spirit and letter of it are carried out. There is no tampering with, or overlooking of, its universal application. The few children who get out of attending school have good excuses, and the attendance officer is prompt to check up and verify the reasons given.

The attendance officers are an unusually fine group of people, thoroughly interested in their work, and imbued with but one idea, namely, to keep children in school. They are not trying to find ways and means to excuse children from attendance, but on the other hand, they are seeking to use all the social forces of the community to enable children to remain in school. The school system has a fund from public taxes which it can use to supply books,

clothing, shoes, etc., so that the need of actual necessities does not have to keep children out.

The State Board of Attendance through its chief executive is doing a splendid piece of work in co-ordinating and unifying the practical operation of the law. The chief executive of the Board has frequent conferences with the local attendance officers, counselling and advising with them. The result is a uniform practice throughout the state, and the development of a fine esprit de corps.

Third, the parents themselves believe that their children should go to school at least until they are 16 years of age. It was gratifying to see how thoroughly the communities have come to accept this principle. Surprisingly few parents were found who spoke of "their rights" with respect to their children, or in any way questioned the right of the school authorities to keep all children in school. That every child should go to school has become a community attitude of mind.

Fourth, the large number of children found in school is not wholly the result of a good law, nor the good enforcement thereof. The superintendents of schools, without exception, are trying to build school systems that are both interesting and serviceable. The school is looked upon as a community institution that must meet the needs of a wide variety of types of children. The old idea of compelling all children to take a prescribed course of study that necessarily would tend to make them all fit into the same fixed grooves is rapidly passing. The curriculum is elastic and designed not only to be interesting but also to provide all children with useful and usable information. The attainment of the children is measured not so much in terms of fixed standards as by what they are able to do. The amount of progress necessary for the completion of a given grade is not the same for all children, for the simple reason that the abilities of all children are not the same. The constant aim is to encourage, not discourage, the children. After accomplishing as much as they are able to accomplish, they are promoted. If they can do better in some lines of endeavor than in others they are encouraged and helped in that direction.

Junior high schools are well established. Experiments are being made especially in the way of providing shop training of one character or another. These are designed primarily for the so-called "hand minded" children, for it is recognized that this group furnishes the largest number of children who leave school for work. Several of the schools have so-called "opportunity" rooms for ungraded children.

The feebleminded myth has largely been dispelled. It is recognized that by no means do all children have the same ability

or capacity for receiving training, but it is the aim of the school authorities to adjust the schools to meet the needs of the children. The theory that all children, at least until they are 16 years of age, should be under the guiding hand of the school has been thoroughly accepted. Little or no opinion was expressed that any large number of children should be excluded from school on the ground that they were unable to carry on the regular school work. There is a keen recognition of the difficulties that these dull or backward children present, but there is no desire to deny them because of alleged feeblemindedness the opportunity to do the best they can and to get as much out of school as they are able.

The facts with respect to the work of children will be presented separately for children not attending school and either working full time or idle and for school children working part time.

CHILD LABOR

FULL-TIME WORK OF CHILDREN

Full-time working children are those who had not entered school during the year 1926–27, or had quit school permanently for work. In a few cases the children were working in the home but the majority of them were working outside the home.

Number and Ages

The number of children between 14 and 18 years of age who were working showed a marked tendency to increase as the age increased. Of the 636 working children 5 were fourteen years of age; 26, fifteen; 276, sixteen; and 329 were seventeen years old. The ratio of the children in the 14–15 year age group to those in the 16–17 year group was approximately one to nineteen.

Sex and Color

The sexes were rather evenly divided; 361 boys, 275 girls Only 18 of the total number were negro children, there being few negro families in the places visited.

Number and Kinds of Jobs

Opportunities for the employment of children are largely of an industrial nature. Nearly half (46.7 per cent) of the children

worked in factories, the most important of which were furniture and other wood-working establishments. Other types of factories were: metal, garment, bag, glove, glass, shoe, basket, novelties, toy, cigar, etc. Each of the towns visited had one or more industrial establishments in which children could be, and were, employed. In Cannelton and Tell City where the chair industry is well established, children are employed platting chairs in the home.

Housework claimed the attention of 73 children (11.5 per cent). All of these were girls who for the most part worked in their own homes. Few were hired out. There were 52 children (8.2 per cent) engaged in clerical-sales work. Most of this was selling goods over the counter in such places as grocery, drug, and ten-cent stores.

Twenty children worked in clerical capacities, such as keeping books, stenographers, file clerks, etc.; 21 on farms; 23 as drivers of teams, trucks, or automobiles, or acting as helpers; 23 at common labor work; 17 as apprentices, or helpers to skilled trades workers; 12 in garages; 20 as messenger, delivery, or errand boys; 11 as waiters (or waitresses); and 10 as telephone operators.

Five, each, worked as dishwashers, porters and janitors, in shine parlors, and at odd jobs; four, each, in bakeries, and as maids and nurse girls; three, each, as battery and oil station attendants, painters and paper hangers, and in butcher shops; two, each, in creameries, laundries, and as cooks; one child worked in a poolroom and another in a bowling alley. The work of twelve children was classed as miscellaneous. About 15 per cent of the children were working either for their parents or themselves.

Length of Time on Job

The average length of time which the children had been working on their present jobs was 7.8 months. Of the 598 children for whom replies were received, 11.4 per cent had worked less than one month; 11.2 per cent, one month but less than two; 8.5 per cent, two months but less than three; 14.7 per cent, three months but less than six; 28.4 per cent, six months but less than one year; 18.7 per cent, one year but less than two; and 7.0 per cent, two years or more.

Number of Jobs

There was not a great deal of shifting from job to job. Excluding 35 from whom answers were not received, 71.2 per cent of the children were working on their first job; nearly one-fourth (24.9 per cent) had had one job besides their present one; and nearly

4 per cent had had two jobs or more in addition to the one on which they were working.

Daily Hours

The law provides that boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age, and girls between 16 and 18 years of age, shall work not more than eight hours a day. Of the 31 children 14 and 15 years of age who were working, 14 were employed for 8 hours or less per day; two worked 8½ hours; and two, 9 hours per day. For 13 the length of the work day was not secured.

In the case of 40 of the 341 boys 16 and 17 years old, the length of the work day was not secured. Of the remainder about one-fourth (25.5 per cent) worked 8 hours a day or less; 29.5 per cent, 8½ or 9 hours a day; nearly two-fifths (39.5 per cent), 9½ or 10 hours; while 5.3 per cent worked 10½ hours or more.

Of the 264 girls whose ages were 16 and 17 years, answers as to the length of the work day were not received for 71. Most of the answers not received were in the housework group. Of the remainder nearly three-fifths (59.6 per cent) had a work day of 8 hours or less; 19.2 per cent worked 8½ or 9 hours; 17.6 per cent, 9½ or 10 hours; and 3.6 per cent, 10½ or more hours per day.

Wages

The average wage for all the children for whom answers were received (547) was $11.42 per week. There was a great variation in the average wage in the different places. In Connersville it was $15.13; in Goshen, $14.16; in Peru, $12.11; in Marion, $11.60; in Crawfordsville, $10.89; in Tell City, $10.03; in Cannelton, $9.82; in Washington, $8.99; and in Brazil, $8.92.

The average weekly wage for the 16 and 17 year old boys was $13.36, while for the girls of the same ages it was only $8.81. For the boys in this age group, the average weekly earnings by jobs were as follows: painters and paper hangers, $18.33; bakery workers, $17.66; laborers, $15.51; shine boys, $15.50; clerical workers, $15.20; factory workers, $14.74; and apprentices, $14.44. All of these were above the average for the group as a whole. The poorest paid jobs were: farm work, porter and janitor, clerical sales work, dish-washing, and garage work.

For the 16 and 17 year old girls the best paid jobs were in clerical work, the average being $12.14 per week. The average for telephone operators was $9.25; for factory workers, $9.23; for waitresses, $9.20; and for clerical sales workers, $8.70.

School Grade Completed

Answers were received for 632 children. Seventeen had completed high school, and seven the 11th grade. Percentages having completed the other grades were as follows: 15.3, the tenth; 21.0, the ninth; 34.2, the eighth; 15.2, the seventh; 7.1, the sixth; and 3.2, the fifth or less.

Almost three-fourths of the children (74.4 per cent) had completed the eighth grade or better, the percentages by towns being as follows: Peru, 84.8; Brazil, 82.9; Marion, 81.9; Goshen, 81.2; Washington, 75.0; Crawfordsville, 66.6; Cannelton, 62.5; Connersville, 60.3; and Tell City, 44.7.

Work Certificates

Eleven of the 21 children doing farm work, and 14 of the 73 doing housework had work permits. By excluding all of the children who did farm and housework, and one for whom the answer was not secured, it was found that of the remainder 125 (23.1 per cent) did not have work certificates. Of the children without permits 97 worked for employers and 28 either for themselves or their parents.

About 10 per cent of the children working in factories were not certificated. Relatively, the employers of children in grocery, drug, and other types of stores, in office work, at common labor, and as truck and team drivers and helpers, were the most important groups who failed to get working permits for the children they employed. These, together with the factory employees not certificated, accounted for slightly more than two-thirds of the non-certificated children. Nearly one-third of the children working without permits were employed at jobs in which the total number of children working in that type of job was five or less.

Reasons for Going to Work

Answers were received for 589 children as to why they had left school to go to work.

Illness was given as the indirect cause for 11.5 per cent. About two-thirds of these had quit school because of some illness or physical defect in themselves and had afterwards gone to work, while the remainder had gone to work because of the illness of some member of their families.

Economic reasons were given for slightly more than one-fifth of the children (21.7 per cent). In practically all these cases the

employment of the child was claimed by the parents to be necessary for the support of the family.

Causes connected with the school were given as the reasons for 261 children (44.5 per cent) being at work. In more than half of these cases (55.9 per cent) it was claimed that the children had gone to work because they disliked school. In 13.8 per cent, the claim was that the children were unable to get on well with their school work; for 6.5 per cent, it was because of a disagreement with the teacher or other school authority. In 15.3 per cent, the parents claimed to be unable to afford the expense of meeting the social demands of the school, and 8.4 per cent of the children in this group had completed either the eighth grade or high school, or had reached the age limit for quitting school.

There were nine children who had quit school because of delinquency in one form or another; two to get married; and for twenty-three miscellaneous reasons were given. In all of these cases the children had gone to work.

IDLE CHILDREN

By idle children is meant all those who had either not entered school during the year 1926–27 or had quit permanently, and who were not working at home or elsewhere. The term includes those who were temporarily out of work and therefore idle, as well as those who were making little or no effort to find work.

Number and Age

There was a total of 168 children between the ages of 14 and 18, who were at home idle.

One was a fourteen year old child whose home was broken. She had been living first with one parent, then with the other, and apparently had become lost to the attendance officer. She had not been working.

Eleven were 15 years of age. One claimed to be ashamed to go to school because of overweight. She also had much difficulty in getting her school work. Two had been in school, moved to the country, and recently returned to town unknown to the attendance officers; they were returned to school the day following the receipt of the report by the attendance officer. Two had been working but had recently lost or quit their jobs. One claimed to be out of school because of her mother's illness; she had completed the ninth grade. Two claimed poor health. One was probably feebleminded. Two

were nearly 16, and were plainly out of school because of indifference.

Eighty-one children 16 years of age were at home idle. Two had difficulty in carrying on their school work but no official test of their abilities to do the school work had been made; since they were past 16 years of age, they could not be compelled to go to school. Seven claimed to be neither able to go to school, nor work, because of some illness or physical defect. Thirty had not worked at any time during the school year up to the time of the visit; of these ten claimed to be trying to find work but the other twenty apparently were not making much effort to find a job.

There were forty-two 16 year old children (51.8 per cent) who had been working but for one reason or another had quit or lost their jobs. In twenty-eight of these cases the children claimed to have disliked school and therefore had gone to work. Thirteen claimed to have gone to work to help support either themselves or members of their families. One child had completed a commercial course, and had gone to work but was temporarily idle.

Seventy-five of the idle children were 17 years of age. Of these fourteen had not been working during the school year up to the time of the visit to the town; none were apparently anxious to find work. Eight claimed to be out of work because of ill health; all but one, however, had done some work since quitting school. Fifty-three had been working but had quit or lost their jobs; in fifteen of these cases the parents claimed it was necessary for the children to help support either the family or themselves, while in most of the thirty-eight remaining cases, the children had gone to work because of a dislike for school.

Grade Completed

An analysis of the schooling of the idle children shows the educational level to be not quite so high as was the case with the children who were at work. About one-third had completed the seventh grade, or less; about one-third, the eighth grade; and about one-third, the ninth grade or more.

Summary

In summing up the situation with respect to the children between 14 and 18 years of age who were out of school, the facts herein presented reveal many excellent conditions, others not so good.

The most outstanding finding is that in the communities studied 14 and 15 year old children are not taken out of school to work. Of the gainfully employed workers between 14 and 18 years of age, less than five per cent of them were children under 16 years of age. If these nine places are typical of the state as a whole, and it is believed they are, then it can safely be said that Indiana has gone a long way in the solution of its child labor problem.

The explanation of this finding is simple. The conditions under which children under 16 years of age may go to work are limited. "Necessity for the labor of such child" must be shown. This, for the most part, is rigidly interpreted by the issuing officers to mean economic necessity, and even then a child is usually not permitted to go to work unless there is no other means of solving the economic difficulties of the family. Furthermore a child under 16 years of age can not go to work unless he has completed the eighth grade of school. These two factors, "economic necessity" and "completion of the eighth grade," coupled with the belief of the issuing officers, generally held that the best interests of the child will be served by being in school rather than at work, are bound to keep at a minimum the number of children under 16 at work. The child labor law with respect to full-time work of children under 16 years of age is well enforced.

There is a wide variety in the kinds of work at which children were employed, but as previously pointed out nearly half were working in industrial establishments. The inquiry did not call for a visit to the place of employment, but from the description of the work by the parents or child it did not appear that many jobs were prohibited by law. The child working in a poolroom was, of course, illegally employed, and the same was true of the children who were driving trucks or automobiles. But on the whole the number of children working at jobs specifically mentioned in the law as being prohibited to them is relatively small.

Children are not shifting a great deal from place to place but are staying on their jobs. Nearly three-fourths of them were still at their first job. Two reasons may account for this: first, there does not seem to be an over supply of jobs; and second, the children are old enough to realize the value of working steadily. Sixteen and seventeen year old children on the whole are more settled in their habits and are less inclined to shift from job to job. A high labor turnover is expensive to both employers and employees, and the high standards of the compulsory school attendance and child labor laws are doing much to eliminate this waste.

The wages the children were receiving were low. This, however, is not a matter that has to do with the child labor law, but it

is a consideration of great concern to these communities. Much criticism was found concerning the low wages, especially in three of the towns. Several parents said that as soon as their children were older they were planning to leave home and go to places where higher wages were paid. This will have a detrimental effect upon these localities for the tendency will be for the brighter and more capable young people to leave.

The amount of schooling received by the children who had gone to work bears out the findings of this study with respect to the enforcement of the compulsory school attendance law. Only one-fourth of them had failed to complete the eighth grade, and three-fifths of these had completed the seventh grade. Two-fifths of all the working children had finished one or more years of high school. Here, again, are to be seen the results of the high standards of the child labor and compulsory school attendance laws.

The law limits the length of the work day to not more than eight hours per day for girls under 18 and for boys under 16 years of age. There seems no good reason why the benefits of this provision of the law should not also be extended to boys between 16 and 18 years of age.

About two-fifths of the 16 and 17 year old girls were working more than eight hours a day. This, of course, is a violation of the law. With the exception of one large factory, little of this was found in industrial establishments. For the most part hour violations were found in places where the operation of the business was on a small scale with comparatively few employees.

Perhaps the most serious weakness in the enforcement of the child labor law was found in the failure of the employers of nearly one-fourth of the 16 and 17 year old children to obtain work certificates. The work permit is the heart of a child labor law. It is the point at which control can best be maintained. The granting of the permit is in the hands of the local school authorities, and they can be counted upon to give due consideration to the best interests of the child. The Industrial Board and the State Board of Attendance, by rule, are apparently requiring for the granting of a work certificate to 16 and 17 year old children less than the law demands. The instrument granted is merely a certificate of age. It is given to the child and is not held in the same repute by either employer or child as the work certificate granted to a 14 or 15 year old child. To the question, "Have you a work certificate?" the answer often was, "Yes, I had one but I don't know where it is," or "I had one but I lost it." If 16 and 17 year old children were as carefully certificated as 14 and 15 year old children are,

there can be no doubt but that some of the hour violations and the employment of non-certificated children would be eliminated.

For the correction of an evil by law there are at least three fundamental factors that must be taken into account. First, the adequacy of the law, itself; second, the machinery that the state has provided for the carrying out of the law; and third, the desire to have the law enforced.

As has been pointed out, the child labor law of Indiana is reasonably adequate but its effectiveness seems to be somewhat lessened by rules which appear to be lower than the law requires. This, however, is not the primary cause of the violations that were found.

The law is administered by the Industrial Board through the Department of Women and Children. The department has a director, required by law to be a woman, a secretary, a clerk, and two field workers. The director spends less than half of her time in the field. The law does not fix any training or experience qualifications for the field workers. Approximately 40,000 certificates and related documents such as termination notices, notices of employment cards, information cards, etc., are received, edited and filed annually. In addition to the child labor law, the department is charged with the administration of the laws relating to women in industry.

In a state the size of Indiana, with its many types and kinds of businesses and places where children are employed, the task of making such inspections as are necessary for the enforcement of the child labor law is a huge one. Two inspectors are not enough. What is needed is a corps of qualified persons to do the necessary field work. In all probability this would go farther than any other single factor in eliminating the violations that were found. The department with its present staff is doing a splendid piece of work, and the wonder is that with only two inspectors not more violations were found.

On the whole there is little or no opposition to the enforcement of the child labor law. Employers, generally, and especially in the larger and better organized types of factories, are careful to obey it. There were some children in factories who were reported to be working a longer day than the law allowed, or who did not have work permits, but these were exceptions.

The chief difficulty is with the small unorganized types of business and places of employment, where the majority of the violations with respect to hours and the failure to get work permits, were found. A few of these employers probably know what the

requirements of the law are, but being opposed to it, take advantage of their smallness in the hope they will not be discovered by the inspectors. No doubt some of these small employers are not interested in finding out and informing themselves as to what is required of them under the law. But in all probability most of the violations by small employers were due not so much to a deliberate attempt to evade the law as to a lack of understanding of its requirements. More inspection service is the greatest single need in the matter of making the child labor law in Indiana fully effective.

PART-TIME WORK OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

Part-time working children are those under 18 years of age who were attending school regularly and engaged in some kind of work for which they received pay before and after school, or on non-school days, or both.

Number

In the nine towns studied 1739 children were doing part-time work. On the basis of the total enrollment for places studied, this figure means that 9 per cent of all the children in addition to going to school were doing some kind of work for which they received pay. These enrollment figures include children who attended school in town but who lived in the country. It also includes children of all ages, including those in the kindergarten.

The number of children on the census lists in the nine places was ascertained for the 14, 15, 16, and 17 year old children only. Using this as a basis, it was found that 17.9 per cent of the fourteen, 17.4 per cent of the fifteen, 14.1 per cent of the sixteen, and 15.1 per cent of the seventeen year old children were engaged in some kind of part-time work.

Sex and Color

Boys numbered 1499, or 86.6 per cent, and girls 240, or 13.4 per cent. There were 59 negro children, 3.4 per cent of the total number of part-time working children.

Kinds of Work

Nearly two-fifths (38.5 per cent) of the part-time working children were engaged in the selling and delivering of newspapers and magazines. Of these the majority (69.1 per cent) had regular customers on established routes to whom the papers were de-

livered. Only 60 (about 9 per cent) were selling newspapers as free lances on the street, while 147 (21.9 per cent) were selling and delivering magazines, some to regular patrons and others to chance customers on the street.

About one-sixth (17.0 per cent) of all the children were engaged in clerical sales work. Of these, nearly two-fifths (39.0 per cent) worked behind the counters in grocery stores; about one-seventh (14.6 per cent), in clothing and department stores; about one-eighth (12.9 per cent), in drug and confectionary stores; about one-ninth (11.0 per cent), in five-and-ten-cent stores. Twenty-six children (8.8 per cent) were engaged in house to house and street selling. In some cases this was selling candy, sandwiches, etc., at the entrance of factories, and in others, the peddling of well-known household articles. The remainder of the clerical-sales working children were found in hardware, shoe, music and book stores, and in bakery shops.

One hundred and twenty-three children (about 7 per cent) were working at such odd jobs as carrying in wood and coal, hauling junk, trash and ashes, mowing lawns, carrying washings, and passing bills; seventy-eight worked at delivery, errand and messenger work; seventy-seven as porters and janitors; sixty-one at housework; forty-seven at farm work; and forty-one as children's attendants. Thirty-eight children worked in some capacity connected with automobiles, as mechanics or helpers in garages, washing cars, or filling station attendants; twenty-nine in manufacturing establishments; and twenty-eight in picture shows at such jobs as carrying reels, ushers, ticket-takers, musicians, and one as an operator.

Twenty-five children were shining shoes, and twenty-three acted as caddies on golf links. Eighteen worked in newspaper offices, and a like number were platting chairs. Seventeen were skilled trades helpers and nine were apprentices; sixteen were office boys. Sixteen worked in restaurants and four in hotels. Sixteen were clerical workers: bookkeepers, stenographers, file clerks, etc. The remainder of the children were working in bakeries, bowling alleys, pool-rooms, dairies and creameries, as truck drivers, musicians, collectors and solicitors, in poultry and commission houses and printing offices, as laborers and janitors. One, each, worked as radio maker, bicycle repairman, butler, electrician, draftsman, barber, advertising writer, and tinner.

Ages

The ages of the children ranged from 7 to 17, although there were only two as young as 7 years of age. The average age of the

entire group of part-time working children was 13.7 years. Nearly one-fifth (18.8 per cent) were 11 years of age or younger; 43.7 per cent were under 14 years of age.

The children selling and distributing newspapers and magazines averaged 12.6 years; the average for those having regular routes was 13.3; for those selling newspapers on the street, 11.7; and for those selling magazines, 10.8 years. In only two other types of work—odd jobs and platting chairs—was the average under 13 years. For delivery and errand boys, children's attendants, caddies, skilled trades helpers, office boys, pin-boys, and collectors, the average was between 13 and 14 years of age. For porters and janitors, house and farm workers, shoe-shine boys, apprentices, and restaurant workers, the average was between 14 and 15. For those in clerical sales and automobile work, manufacturing establishments, picture shows, newspaper and printing offices, hotel and clerical work, bakeries and pool-rooms, and as musicians, it was between 15 and 16. For the nine truck drivers and the three doing common labor work, the average was over 16.

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Days Per Week

About one-seventh of the children (14.1 per cent) worked every day of the week. About one-half (50.3 per cent) had a six-day work week, *i.e.*, they worked on school days, and Saturday or Sunday. A little over one-fifth (21.4 per cent) worked on Saturday only, while 10.5 per cent worked on school days only. Two per cent worked on Saturdays and Sundays only, and nearly two per cent worked on Sundays only.

Daily Hours

Slightly more than one-fourth of the children had at least one work day in the week which was more than eight hours. One-third of these were boys 16 and 17 years old; the hours of these children are not regulated. For the children working more than eight hours per day, the time ranged from 8½ to as much as 14 or 15 hours per day. Nearly half of these long-hour days were worked by children in the clerical sales group.

Weekly Hours

Nearly one-fifth (18.6 per cent) of the part-time working children worked from one to four hours per week. About one-third (33.8 per cent) worked from five to nine hours per week; about one-fifth (22.5 per cent) from ten to fourteen hours; 9.0 per cent, from fifteen to nineteen hours; 7.8 per cent, from twenty to twenty-

four hours; 3.5 per cent, from twenty-five to twenty-nine hours; and 4.8 per cent, thirty hours, or more, per week.

The work time averaged 11.7 hours for all children. Those who worked on school days averaged 1.6 hours per day, or 8.1 hours per week; those on Saturday, 5.6 hours per week; and those on Sunday, 4.0 hours per week.

The children who worked on each day of the week had the longest work time, the average being 20.2 hours. Those who worked on Saturdays and Sundays only had an average work week of 14.4 hours; those on school days and Saturdays, 13.0 hours. Those working on school days only averaged 4.5 hours per week; those on Saturdays only, 7.4 hours; and those on Sunday only, 4.3 hours.

Children Working on School Days

Of the 1301 children who worked on school days, almost one-fifth (19.4 per cent) worked before school, about one-third of these being before school only. Nearly nine-tenths (88.5 per cent) worked after school, nearly three-fourths of these working at that time only. 15.5 per cent of the children who worked on school days worked at night, one-fourth of these working at night only. Approximately one-fourth of the part-time working children worked on non-school days only.

Night Work

Nearly one-third (31.8 per cent) of the part-time working children worked at night, *i.e.*, before 6 A.M. or after 7 P.M. One-third of these were boys 16 and 17 years old, leaving about one-fifth of the total number of working children who were employed in violation of the night work provisions of the child labor law.

Seventy per cent of the children working in clerical sales capacities worked at night, but nearly two-fifths of these were boys 16 and 17 years old; in their cases the employment was not illegal. Only about one in seven of the children engaged in selling and distributing newspapers and magazines worked at night, and one-fourth of these were old enough to preclude any violation of law. Of the 28 children working in picture shows all but 5, who were ticket-takers for afternoon shows, worked at night. Thirteen, however, were boys between 16 and 18 years of age. All but one of the shoe-shine boys worked at night; one-fourth of these were old enough so as not to violate the law. All of the nine musicians, the two pool-room, the eleven bowling alley, and the four hotel working children were employed at night. Thirteen of these were beyond the age limit to violate the law.

Length of Time on the Job

The average length of time which the children had been working at the jobs on which they were found was 13.0 months. Only 15 children had been working at their present job less than one week. About one in nine (11.7 per cent) had worked one week but less than one month; 27.7 per cent, one month but less than six months; 18.0 per cent, six months but less than one year; 17.6 per cent, one year but less than two years; and 24.1 per cent, two years or longer.

The children who were selling and distributing newspapers and magazines averaged 13.4 months on their jobs, a figure slightly above the average for all. The children who had regular delivery routes averaged 15.8 months; those selling newspapers on the street, 10.3 months; and those selling magazines, 6.9 months.

The children working in clerical sales capacities averaged 13.5 months on their jobs; as delivery and errand boys, 11.4 months; at odd jobs, 9.6 months; as porters and janitors, 11.0 months; at house work, 12.1 months; at farm work, 19.9 months; at automobile work, 11.8 months; and in picture shows, 9.4 months.

For Whom Working

One hundred sixty-eight (9.6 per cent) worked for their parents; 1071 (61.6 per cent), for employers; and 500 (28.7 per cent), for themselves.

Of those working for themselves, over 85 per cent (426) were selling and distributing newspapers and magazines. Twelve children were working for themselves in house to house and street selling work, and thirty were doing odd jobs.

Of the children working for their parents 45 were selling goods, nearly half being in grocery stores. Other important kinds of work in which children were working for their parents were: 20 at farm work, 13 at delivery and errand work, and 10 as porters and janitors. All of the children platting chairs and two-thirds of the skilled trades helpers also worked for their parents.

Work Certificates

Of the 1739 part-time working children, only 185, or 10.6 per cent, had work certificates. Forty-five per cent of the certificated children were working at clerical sales jobs but less than one-third of the children doing this kind of work had certificates. Only thirteen of the 669 working in selling and distributing of news-

papers and magazines had certificates. Fifteen of the 29 children in manufacturing establishments were certificated. Other certificated children were as follows: three of the 123 odd job workers; nine of the 78 delivery and errand boys; nine of the 77 porters and janitors; one of the 61 house workers; one of the 47 farm workers; seven of the 38 automobile workers; six of the 28 children working in picture shows; seven of the 25 shine boys; and three of the 23 caddies

Grade Standing

Nearly two-fifths (38.9 per cent) of the part-time working children were doing high school work. The eighth grade had the highest number, there being 15.5 per cent of the total number in this grade. The seventh and sixth grades each had nearly as high a percentage. Less than one-fifth (19.0 per cent) were in the fifth grade or lower.

Summary

In many ways the situation with respect to the part-time working children parallels that of the children working full time. The showing, on the whole, is good, although there are some features of it that could be and ought to be improved.

In all probability the number of children doing some kind of work outside of school hours is larger than it is generally thought to be. Looked at from the standpoint of the enrollment which showed about one in eleven, or from that of the census of certain ages which showed about one in six, it must be recognized that for a state the size of Indiana, the aggregate number of children involved is a large one. The number alone is sufficiently large to put on guard those whose responsibility it is to safeguard and protect these children in work as well as in school.

There are many kinds of work in which the children were employed but 80 per cent of them were working at the following jobs: newspaper and magazine selling and delivering, clerical sales, odd jobs, delivery and errand work, porters and janitors, house and farm work, and as children's attendants. The character of the work was considerably different than that done by the full-time working children. This is to be expected for children can not fit into the organization scheme of many kinds of work while they go to school. The majority of the part-time jobs have little if any vocational training value. The most that can be said for them is that they are just jobs.

The largest group (those engaged in the selling and distributing of newspapers and magazines) are generally thought not to come under the provisions of the child labor law, for the reason that they have been held to be working for themselves—merchants in their own rights. The majority of these children had regular established routes for delivering the daily paper. These were the older children who had been working at their jobs for the longer periods of time. Most of them delivered their papers after school. Relatively, the amount of night work was small. In several places it was found that an agency had the contract for delivering the papers to the customers and was hiring boys to deliver the papers at so much per paper. This, of course, would make these children employees and not merchants in their own right.

Strange to say the younger children were selling on the streets, generally recognized to be the most objectionable phase of the newspaper problem. However, it should be stated that these children did not work long at a time and practically none worked at night.

More than two-fifths of the part-time working children were under 14 years of age, the age under which employment is forbidden. Nearly half of the children engaged in the selling and distributing of newspapers and magazines were under 14, while less than one-third of those in all other occupations were less than 14 years of age. Other important job groups in which the younger children were working were odd jobs, running errands and caring for children. As was the case with the newspaper working children few were engaged long hours or at night.

About one-sixth of all the part-time working children worked twenty or more hours per week. This time added to that actually required in school makes a week longer than the standard week of 48 hours. This takes into account no time for outside school activities, or for the preparation of lessons.

Not counting the 16 and 17 year old boys, about one in six had at least one work day in the week that was more than eight hours long, and about one in five worked at night. Most of these violations were on Saturday. Relatively, more children working in stores were employed longer than eight hours per day, and at night, than in any other kind of work.

As was the case with the full-time working children, the most serious defect found was that most of the part-time working children did not have employment certificates. This fact within itself probably accounts for most of the other violations of law that were found. Only about one in ten of all the children had certificates.

If the children selling and delivering newspapers and magazines are not counted, only about one in six in all the other kinds of work had work permits.

Elimination of the younger children and the removal of the objectionable phases of child employment can not be accomplished without a more effective control than exists at the present time.

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